1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and partly because it was part of Abd el Krim's uniform and would therefore throw suspicion upon the wearer as a rebel sympathizer. It is still worn, curiously enough, by many of the native *mokhaznîyo*, gendarmes in the employ of the Spanish military authorities.

2. *furu*. This is a collection of strings of camel's-hair yarn, roughly parallel, and crosstied just often enough to keep the whole combination together. The *furu* is twisted about the head as a turban just as is the *thaghareft*, leaving the top of the head similarly bare. The camel's hair comes from the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa. It is dyed brown for ordinary wear and red for weddings. The *furu* came in after the *thaghareft*, and like it was worn by individuals here and there in every tribe, according to personal taste.

3. *thaamanth*, a yellow kerchief, silk embroidered, worn as a turban. This is of European manufacture and introduction.

4. *arizith*, a white cotton turban (see plate 25), likewise of European manufacture. In adopting the white turban the Riffians have reached the final step of imitating the Arabs. All the previous types of headgear mentioned were distinctively if not uniquely Riffian, but the *rezza*, as the Arabs call it, in no way distinguishes them from the rest of Moroccans. It has not yet attained universal distribution, being worn only by the least conservative elements in each tribe. The fez, or *sheshia*, as it is called in Morocco, has not yet appeared except in the tribes of Galiya and Kebdana.

The Riffians in the Spanish zone will probably become Europeanized in dress before they submit completely to Arab notions of sartorial accoutrement, since the Riffians have fewer inhibitions against European civilization than against that of the Arabs. However, European dress among them is at present confined to the very few who have become officers in the Spanish army and to chauffeurs, mechanics, and the like in Melilla.

Riffians never appear in public without some form of belt and a scrip, or bag.

thaghugat is the generalized term for men's belts, which are always made of leather. The ordinary type is about two inches broad, undecorated, and fastened by a buckle in front. *thaghugat n tayish* is a special belt worn at weddings, much broader, covered with silken embroidery, and frequently embellished with tassels. *thaghugat er knenth* is a leather cartridge belt, with pockets for the clips of cartridges which fit into the ordinary Mauser, or Spanish army rifle. *thasabutch*, the scrip or leathern bag, does not hang from the belt, but is supported by a separate strap, called *iyarusith*, passing over the shoulder opposite to the side on which the bag is worn. The old style bags used in the days of the flintlock rifle were very large and contained many pockets, in which were kept powder, lead balls, emergency rations, knives, papers, and other small objects which among us would be carried in pockets. These bags were ornamented with silk embroidery and long leather fringes and tassels. (See plate 27.) The designs were both rectilinear and curvilinear, the curvilinear designs usually being floral. The bags were also decorated by great areas of inlaid colored leather, a technique which had died out but which is now being revived by Taghsuthi workmen in French shops at Rabat.

Accompanying the large bag of former times, a powder horn made from the horn of the aoudad, called the *ish n wulhath*, depended from the belt. The use of these horns has died out, owing to the advent of cartridges and the scarcity or possible extinction of the aoudad.

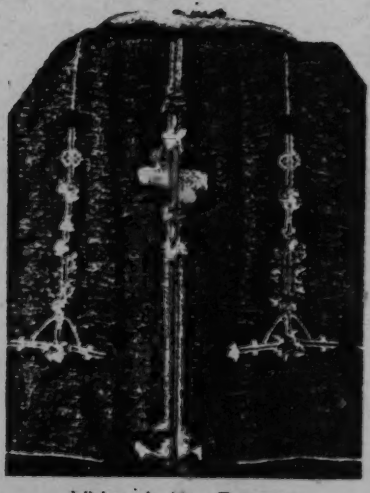
The bags and belts which typified the Rif of a hundred years ago were made exclusively at a village called Iyarusith in the tribe of Temsaman. The craft has long been extinct there, however, and now the belts and bags used in the Rif are made locally or are imported

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

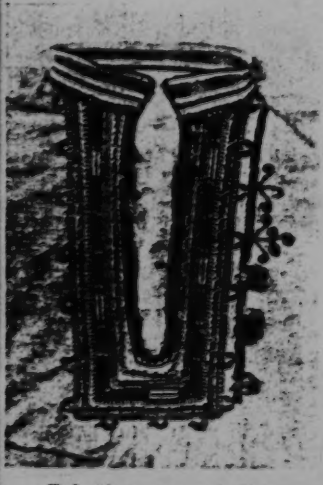
CLOTHING 3

291
293
531

Taghzuthi serip



Jellaba embroidery, Temsaman



Embroidery on woman's shirt.
Beni Urriaghel

Old Riffian serip

[facing p. 88]

000 al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

Emilio Blanco, however, often expresses strong reservations 671 about the efficacy of the Shari'a in the Rif, and--like the "Berber 114 sentimentalist" he often betrays himself to be--actually chides the administration (but only in his unpublished work) for not reintroducing customary law to the Rif. Blanco's thoughts on this matter may have never reached the publication stage, but it is easy to see that he was deeply concerned about it. This is again, perhaps, a function of the (almost unconscious) influence of Montagne's Les Berberes et le Makhzen upon his work and thought.

177 5--The umbrella (Rifian rmdhar) is the hallmark, rain or shine, of 67 any important personage, actual or self-styled, in the Rif. However, 179 why Blanco brought it into this particular context, we have no idea.

[554] 6--The divergence between "Islamic Law" and "Custom" in the Rif is, [293] in an overall sense, less noticeable, certainly, than in other Berber- [114] speaking areas of Morocco, especially the Middle and Central Atlas; and, as aforementioned, we have 'Abd al-Krim to thank for the theoretically harmonious equilibrium and, indeed, blend, between the two.

That, in a general way, it is the Shari'a which is followed (more or less) in all matters pertaining to 1) land, 2) marriage, and 3) divorce, while the elusive "Custom" tends to dictate any cases which do not have to do with these conceptualizations, will soon become apparent.

181 7--For further "value judgments" on this question, see David M. Hart 113 and José R. Erola, "Rifian Morals", in Vergilius Ferm, Ed., Encyclopedia of Morals, New York; Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 481-490.

000 8--i.e. by Western standards: another value judgment.

9--The dharfiqth, pl. dharfiqin, is, in the Rif, the patrilineal (and patrilocal) lineage par excellence, and although Blanco translates it as "grupo familiar", I shall refer to it as "lineage" henceforth, in both text and notes. Varying in both membership and depth, it may trace its 'apical" ancestor from, say, four up to as many as eight ascending generations removed from the speaker. Almost never, unless he is a sharif (in Rifian, amrabidh), or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad--whether de facto or de jure is in this case immaterial--and often not even then, can a Rifian trace his ancestry in a step-by-step progression beyond this particular apex, whatever its generational depth. The various lineage branches of the dharfiqth are also con- [596] ceptualized as such by Rifians, and are called jajgu, pl. ijujga in Aith Waryaghar, and jij, pl. ijajjen in Igzinnayen and Aith 'Ammarth.

10--Jma'th (from Moroccan Arabic jma'a) is the term generally employed to refer to all the people in a given local community. The Rifians do not use it in the sense which it is given in Arabic (as well as that accorded it by the former Spanish administration), that of "council, assembly", a sense which is more restrictive. However, the triliteral [193] root jm' in Arabic, meaning "to come together, congregate, collect, add up", is ultimately permissive of both notions, for from it is also derived the noun jum'a, "Friday", as well as jami', "mosque". One may

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, *c*).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, *c*). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, *a*, *d*). The leather slippers (*bilga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, *e* and *f*). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, *e*). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, *f*).